for forty days and the behavior of the priests accompanying him was unmentionable. One day the priests went to a restaurant called Yatsugashira and held a wild party calling in many entertainers. The person acting as a guard for the priests was too dumbfounded to interfere and when the bill, which amounted to a considerable sum, was brought, he showed it to the priests. The priests then flew into a rage saying that that was no way to treat them and threatening to go to the chief civil authority about the matter. Then Shiratori Shinjiro, a man of experience, who had been there since the days of the Bakufu administration appeared on the scene and told them there was no reason why they should not pay the bill since it affected the virtue of their holy position. The priests had nothing more to say. On the day of their departure when a lunch was served them at Nanaehama, one of the priests, complaining that the rice was cold, returned to Hakodate, demanded gold and is said to have then spent the night at a restaurant.[44]

Against this tale, however, must be balanced such tales of successful mission work as are found in *Ezo Kōran* [Perspective of Ezo] which is concerned with the activities of the Zenkōji temple—the most successful of the three temples.[45]

We may conclude then that the effect, if any, of Buddhist missionary work, was limited to a small area and that it was superficial with slight spiritual impact on the life of the Ezo. Aside from Buddhist temples, the Bakufu also set up a number of shrines in order to control native religious life. Various gods were enshrined near the *Unjōyu* during the pre-Bakufu period and some of these gods were harmonized with the ways of the Ezo. When the Bakufu took over, Hachiman [the War God] was enshrined at each *Kaishō*.[46] It is especially interesting to note that Kondō Juzo established a shrine for Yoshitsune. Kondō may have believed the legend that Minamoto Yoshitsune crossed to Ezo and was later worshipped by the natives.[47] He

---

[44] Onōdera Ken, *Ezo Kikan* [Wonders of Ezo] Suppl. Vol.

[45] "A priest of high virtue was recently selected, upon order from the Bakufu, from among the priests of the Shibazōjōji temple, to become the head of the Zenkōji temple at Usu. Upon arrival in Ezo, this priest worked diligently in an effort to teach Buddhist prayers to the natives. However, none of the Ezo obliged because they could not understand these prayers. The priest, therefore, taking advantage of the fact that the Ezo were fond of sake, distilled unrefined sake and informed the natives that anyone saying the prayers would be given a free treat. Thus the natives, wishing to drink sake, began to say their prayers. In later years it became understood among the Ezo that to go to the temple for prayers was tantamount to going for a free drink and the temple was crowded to its capacity with natives, who, for the sake of the treat, were chanting prayers."

[46] "It is expected that one Hachiman shrine will be established at each *Basho* supported by the Bakufu." Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni . . ., in *Kyuma Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 559.

[47] The legend that Minamoto no Yoshitsune did not meet his death at Koromogawa but managed to escape to Ezo where he was held in great honor is invariably found in any publication pertaining to Ezo such as *Ezo Ki*, *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, *Ezo Kiji*, *Ezo Shi*, etc., and by the time of the first period of direct administration by the Bakufu, it had become an unquestionable legend. Kondō Juzo believed in this legend as

did enshrine Yoshitsune at Saru which was alleged to have been the capital of the Ezo and the success he achieved is unknown since the Ezo were animists and not idolators but his intention is understandable. Kondō also set up shrines at Kunashiri, Akkeshi, and other places, and taught the natives to worship at them.[48]

## 6. LAW

Another noteworthy matter of policy was the enactment of simple laws in Ezo. The Matsumae had regarded the Ezo as aliens yet to be assimilated and consequently all internal affairs of the natives were left to the natives to settle except incidents involving Japanese. When the Bakufu took the view that the Ezo were part of Japan, it became necessary to enact some kind of law in the island. Since the Ezo were not accustomed to Japanese ways, it was considered unfair as well as a hindrance to government to enforce the laws and penalties of the mainland. Therefore, Hayashi of the Education Ministry, acting on the three articles of the pledge of the Founder of the Han Dynasty made to the leaders of Shensi, drafted three articles for enactment into law in Ezo.

1. Heavy penalties will be imposed on persons believing in perverted religions and persons becoming friendly with foreigners.
2. The death penalty will be imposed on those who commit murder.
3. Persons who do injury to others or who commit theft shall be punished according to the seriousness of the crime.

According to Hayashi's explanations of the draft, light crimes were to be punished by a maximum sentence of three to five years at hard labor on the roads with the culprit to be shaven bald, while the penalty for misdemeanors was to be left in the hands of the administrative courts.[49] In addition to the above three clauses

---

can be seen from a letter he wrote to Furukawa Koshōken in June 1799.

"Millet is called *monjiro* and barnyard grass is called *biyoba*. It is said that when Minamoto no Yoshitsune came to this land years ago, he taught the natives how to plant them. At Saru and Mukawa the natives have set up wreaths at places where Yoshitsune is said to have resided." *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1: 22. The *Kimura Shikyō* . . . also states that this legend was believed without doubt.

[48] It is noted in the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . that on July 23 Kondō Juzo and his party set up a small shelter at Atoiya in Kunashiri and erected in its vicinity a Hangan shrine [a shrine to Minamoto Yoshitsune] and instructed the natives as follows: "A Hangan shrine has been established here and it is requested that the shrine be worshipped."

On October 10 the natives, on the occasion of the enthronement of a god at Akkeshi received the following instructions: "To worship this god is to worship the god of Edo and it is as holy a god as the god of the sun and the moon. This god bestows good luck on the virtuous and bad luck on the evil; is pleased by those who work hard but despises those who are lazy. This god protects Ezo and its surrounding sea so it is desired that this god be worshipped at all times without fail" [also given in Ainu].

[49] "If too many strict laws are enacted in an uncivilized land, it is true that these laws will act as obstacles in ruling the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6



Records inform us that in the year A.D. 776 many of the Ainu chieftains about the northern barriers, which barriers were ever being pushed gradually back, made a great assault on their hereditary foes. They fiercely attacked a fort near Sendai and were so determined in their efforts that at last they took it with all the munitions and supplies stored there. Moreover, they killed the commandant and nearly all the garrison, and spread terror right and left throughout the country as far south as Tokyo, which was at that time known as Musashino. Many terrible battles were fought on land and sea, the victory sometimes resting on one side and sometimes on the other. But in the ninth century the terrible age-long conflict was brought to a close, the victory resting with the Japanese. In the year 855 a civil war broke out among the Ainu, and this so weakened them that when they rose again in 878 it was comparatively easy to deal with them. Since that time the Ainu have not given much trouble and are now a thoroughly subdued people and most loyal to their Japanese conquerors. Some of the chiefs who submitted are said to have become *daimyō*, and doubtless there were many inter-marriages of the two races, as in Hokkaidō at the present time. There are undoubted, ineffaceable traces of this mixture to be seen today throughout the old parts of the Japanese Empire.

When in his fits of madness, Anra, as was shown in the last chapter, supposed himself to be effectually slaughtering enemies in the shape of Japanese warriors, clothed in ancient armour. On such occasions he was "up and at 'em." He meant to avenge the slaughtered dead and to defend his own hearth and home on the top of his little hill. When a child, he had seen both his father and mother, and perhaps his grand-parents too, doing the same kind of thing and hearing the same sounds, as his wife also had done and died. Doubtless, too, he uses the same old sword which

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE ORIGIN OF THE AINU, AND THE CREATION

The problem of the origin of the Ainu is still uncertain and one does not care to theorize on the matter just yet. It is therefore the purpose of the present chapter to give the simple Ainu version of the matter. Their ideas on the subject are very quaint and simple and most characteristic, and it is these I intend to set forth as much as possible in their own language, simply and truthfully translated. 101

Many of the old people believed that their ancestors were descended from one whom they called Aeoina Kamui, i.e. "The Divine Tradition Holder," not, indeed, by way of natural generation, but as being in the first instance created by him. Although he himself is spoken of as divine, yet he was sent by the Supreme God of Heaven with full instructions as to how to form people, teach them how to make and use useful instruments and implements, instruct them in hunting and fishing, and how to make fetishes and worship the various deities and perform religious rites and ceremonies. And so it comes to pass that he is always spoken of with great respect. I have never heard him worshipped by name, but I suspect many do pray to him on occasion. How he stopped cannibalism among them was mentioned in a former chapter. 173 ●

The Ainu admit that their race is not nearly so numerous as it used to be. Even since my first arrival I have seen whole villages disappear. The people grieve over this, but have settled down to accept the fact, in despair of ever rising again. 161

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



along the seashore, mostly on the plain at the top of the cliffs overlooking the sea, while the rest are situated on the banks of a narrow stream and along what appears to have been a river course. On the same island, at Ru-pets, are several pits of a similar description, and a fort. 172

As the pit-dwellers have disappeared from Yezo and the Kuriles, and only pre-historic remains and relics have been left behind to indicate their former existence, the questions naturally arise: Who were these pit-dwellers? Whence did they come? and whither have they gone? We can place no reliance on the accounts given by the Ainu or by the highly imaginative Japanese, who, moreover, are perfectly ignorant on this subject. Some Ainu say that Yezo was formerly peopled by a race of dwarfs, who were their enemies, and were extirpated by them after many sanguinary battles. The Ainu are very vague as to when and where these battles were fought, but according to their accounts these pit-dwellers, whom they call the *Koro-pok-kuru*—literally "men of holes"—once inhabited Yezo and the Kuriles. They were only three or four feet in height, and some semi-Ainu stories represent them as being only a few inches tall. This of course might be taken to mean that they were very small by comparison. A few Ainu, yet more imaginative than others, go so far as to say gravely that the Koro-pok-kuru were so tiny that when a shower of rain came they hid under burdock leaves for shelter. Others, however, tell us that these Koro-pok-kuru were their ancestors, and much more hairy than the Ainu of the present day. They were strong, fond of hunting, and able to cross the mountains with great facility and speed. According to Mr. Batchelor, some Ainu state that they themselves formerly lived in huts over pits, and that they changed their method of house-building on coming in contact with the Japanese; but if this were the case it seems unaccountable that they should distinguish their predecessors as pit-dwellers. Moreover, if the influence of the Japanese was sufficiently strong to cause them to make this most important change in their habitations and mode of living, how comes it that in other matters they have not adopted Japanese customs? I was unable to trace the slightest resemblance between Ainu huts and Japanese edifices of any kind, either in their general appearance or in any of 172 172 173 172

4: Landor T.-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



172 The Japanese know the pit-dwellers by the name of "Ko-bito," or "Ko-shto," the latter word meaning "men of the lakes,"[1] but they know nothing of their history.

One fact still remains to be explained, namely, who made the pottery that is disinterred in almost every pit and by the [323] shores of lakes. The present Ainu do not know how to make pottery, and they have never been known to manufacture anything of the kind. [177] All Ainu implements are made of wood, though of course the more civilised tribes have now purchased iron or porcelain implements from the Japanese. The question, then, is, supposing that the Ainu were formerly the pit-dwellers, have they lost the art of making pottery, or did the pottery belong to a different race of people?

KORO-POK-KURU POTTERY AND FRAGMENTS OF DESIGNS.

It seemed singular to me that, conservative as the Ainu are of their relics, even allowing for its brittle nature, no pottery of the kind found in pits is ever to be seen in any Ainu hut. Had they made the pottery themselves, surely some specimens or parts of specimens would have been preserved.

Comparing facts, we find, then, that the Koro-pok-kuru built their huts over pits, made pottery, and used stone and flint implements; while the Ainu have never been known to dwell in pits, have never made pottery, and have always used bone or bamboo implements. Moreover, Ainu traditions of internecine wars, vague as they are, and their designating the ● [173] enemy by the name of Koro-pok-kuru, are further proofs that the Ainu themselves do not regard the pit-dwellers as their forefathers. As, then, the few facts collected tend to prove that

[1] *Ko*, lake; *shto*, man. *Ko* is probably a corruption of the Ainu word *to*, a lake or a swamp, and it is used by the Japanese of Yezo for "lake," instead of the word "*numa*."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

412
531

AINU KNIFE, WITH ORNAMENTED SHEATH.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### Ainu Art, Ainu Marks, Ornamentations, Weapons—Graves and Tattoos.

212 THE expression of ideas by graphic signs is utterly unknown to the Ainu. They have no alphabet, and furthermore, they have no methods whatever of writing. Hence the utter incapacity of the hairy people to record events, time, or circumstances in their history; for even the system of picture-writing is not known to them.

[173] Thus they have neither graven records nor any form of visible history; and tradition transmitted from mouth to mouth is all they have by way of historic continuity. The 422 nearest approach made to graphic signs is in the owner's marks, which we occasionally find on some of their implements. The moustache-lifter is the article on which this mark is most commonly found. What these marks are meant to represent I do not know for certain; but I believe that Fig. 1 is supposed to convey the idea of a house, and Fig. 2 that of a boat; Fig. 3 a bear cage, and 4 the mere result of fancy. Even these marks are only rarely found, and have probably been suggested by Japanese writing.

The illustration shows the four specimens which I found carved on moustache-lifters.

212


Closely allied with writing is, of course, map-drawing and ornamentations. Map drawing can be dismissed at once, like that famous chapter on snakes in Iceland, as the Ainu know nothing of it.

532 Rough ornamentations on bone and wooden implements are their only artistic efforts. Truthful representations of

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

## HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I
[192] can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[784] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against
[776]
[231]
[173]
[174]

[1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uekehere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

## EXORCISM

The preliminary service at the house is much the same for all *uepotara*, the chief difference being in the name of the evil spirit to be overcome. In the one I shall describe it was Pauchi Kamui, who is usually held responsible for insanity or violent hysteria. He is notorious as the instigator of epidemics of frenzied dancing. The account of a serious outbreak of dancing mania,[1] which occurred about two centuries ago, was related to me by several elders, as it had been passed down to them by their ancestors.

As in all ceremonies, Kamui Fuchi is first approached; she is told of the trouble and her help is besought. Next, Mintara-koro Kamui and Ru-koro Kamui, the spirits of the yard and the privy, are invoked, as well as Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, at their respective *nusa*. Then elaborate preparations are made by the river: first, a backward-shaven *inau* is inserted for Mintuchi Kamui, a freshwater nymph, and upstream from it six groups of four-winged *inau* are set up in the water at the river's edge. These are made of alder and are about eight inches high. The *inau* furthest upstream, the chief, is taller than the others, and has some distinguishing mark, sometimes a piece of wood tied to it to represent a sword, in this case a piece of cloth. They are called evil *inau* because they repel evil, or abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. These *inau* are made of elder and only have four wings, in distinction to other winged *inau*, which may have from six to nine. They are set at an angle so that they point towards the river. The next *inau* upstream from the chief is a backward-shaven one for Chiu ra-pe Mat, the female spirit of the undercurrent. Then comes the *nusa* of the three great Ainu *kamui*; its winged *inau* are made of willow. At the lower end of this *nusa* a sword is hung for the officiating *ekashi*; it is said to act as a messenger from Kamui Fuchi. At the upper end there is a backward-sh. ven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Guru, the male spirit of the undercurrent. Six Houses of Evil are set up at short intervals, in a line, at a right angle to the river's edge. These are reed arches, about four feet high, with some hollow-stemmed *Polygonum sachalinensis* (*kuttara*) tied to the apex. Hollow stems of this plant are also used as traps to catch ghosts and spirits of pestilence; small boats are made of them to provide spirits with a means of return to their abode after they have been invoked in a rite. Here they serve as an exit for Pauchi Kamui when the arches are set on fire. On either side of

[1] See Appendix, p. 160.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6



a tidal wave or a conflagration and repel the *kamui* of small-pox.[1]

No woman may marry a man whose mother has the same type of *kut* as herself. This was confirmed by further investigation, both by Munro himself and later by Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura. (See *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 187.)

Munro discovered five more types, respectively associated with Korokeu Kamui, the wolf; Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui, fox; Kapachiri Kamui, eagle; Moyuk, badger or racoon, and Isepo Kamui, hare, the members of which were said to be protected from the occurrence of hare lip.[2] In one letter Munro mentioned a girdle associated with Kamui Fuchi, and two of the girdles he collected are labelled 'attributed to Kamui Fuchi'. However, as all women believe themselves to be allied to the fire goddess, who gave instructions for the making of the girdles, the possibility of these specimens being associated with theriomorphic *kamui* as well as Kamui Fuchi is not excluded. In prayer to Kamui Fuchi petitioners describe themselves as her grandchildren, and Munro frequently refers to her as 'the Great Ancestress, supreme over the ancestral cult'. She is invoked by elders before any other *kamui* is approached, and her special backward-shaven *inau* are given her on all ceremonial occasions. The hearth is sacred to her and is her resting place in every home. She is revered as a 'weighty' *kamui*—perhaps the most important of all—but it is not clear that she is regarded by men as the ancestress of all Ainu in their ancestral cult.

The wearer of the Rep-un Kamui (grampus) *kut*, a woman of about 85 years old, told Munro that the younger sister of the grampus *kamui* married an Ainu, and she regarded her as an ancestress. It should be noted that all *kamui* associated with the *upshoro-kut* are members of the Ainu pantheon as well as being specific to certain matrilineal kin groups, and all except Kamui Fuchi and Wakka-ush Kamui, the deities of fire and of fresh water,

[1] When Munro's house was burnt down he did not know of the power that women were able to exercise by means of their *kut*, but he noticed that a group of women about fifty yards away stood waving their arms—presumably driving away the fire by means of the power they exercised on account of their *kut*.

[2] Members of the Isepo *kut* lineage are said to be of lower status than the other *kut*. A legend states that a young hunter saw a beautiful maiden weaving a cord in the forest. She was overcome by shame at being seen by a man while performing her secret task. She was obliged to marry him to hide her shame, and she became Isepo Kamui.

/325/

101 The sparse population of the island of Sakhalin consists of three tribes: the Orok, Gilyak, and Ainu. They were there already at the time when the Russians, even the Japanese, landed on the island for [172] the first time. But the first Russian explorers, Lopatin, Polakof, and others who travelled across the island, found there definite traces of an extinct tribe whose members knew only how to make tools of stone but were familiar with pottery. According to the information received from the Ainu they called this mythical tribe Tonchi.

172 Remains of clay huts and ground stone tools found close by, such as axes, arrows, spear-points, potsherds, and whole vessels of clay, shells and bones of various fish and mammals, still wait for an exact scientific archeological examination and evaluation.

173 Since the origin of the aborigines of Sakhalin is an unsolved problem I should like to quote here those legends that circulate among the Ainu themselves and which I have heard from their own mouths.

174 The Gilyak and Orok appeared on the island lured by its wealth. According to their own tales they came much later than the Ainu, who at that time constituted the only inhabitants of Sakhalin. They held the caves which they often found in the river valleys and on mountain slopes and which undoubtedly had been dug by human hands, to be the work of the bearded Ainu living there. The Gilyak called those caves also Kuhi rulkus, i.e. the caves of the Ainu, or Kuhi mrolf taf tulkus, i.e. the excavations of old Ainu huts. Some Gilyak are inclined to consider these caves remains of the dwelling places of their ancestors. Also the Orok call the caves Kuczi goropci nanda, i.e. old dwellings of the Ainu. As to our knowledge of the Tonchi, I have heard about them only from the Gilyak who live around the Niische Bay. This is perhaps because in the south of this gulf Gilyak-Ainu tribes have settled, from whom these legends were taken over by their nearest neighbors. One Gilyak there told me the following tradition: "The Tonchi inhabited mountains in the middle of which there were mountain lakes. They sorely suffered from lack of women and therefore kidnapped some from the Ainu living at the seashore. This caused bloody warfare with the Tonchi, who annihilated this tribe."

/326/

172 342 On the many caves and remnants of huts the Ainu give less varied and contradictory reports. They attribute stone tools and potsherds to the Tonchi who formerly lived there. The Ainu can even exactly distinguish their own old caves and clay huts from the dwellings of [171] the Tonchi. The caves of the latter are deeper but narrower than those of the Ainu. Not far from the Taraika Lake one finds on sandy hills over an extension of several kilometers caves which the Ainu believed to be dwellings of the Tonchi. In some of these caves I took measurements and obtained the following results: depth, one and one-fourth to one and one-half meter, width of the square-shaped entrance, four and one-fourth to five meters. The depth of the Ainu caves, however, never exceeded about one meter, while its diameter was considerably larger than that of the Tonchi caves.

[171] Another difference between the Tonchi caves and the remains of the Ainu huts lies in the fact that the latter show in their background [30] a conical hole of varying size. These are the so-called toj simpuj, i.e. earth wells, out of which earth was taken for the fabrication of the clay roofs. The longer the inhabitants stay in the same yurt the more their roof crumbles off and the more earth for its repair is fetched from the earth-well, which therefore becomes deeper and deeper. There are "wells" whose depth is two meters but whose circumference in its widest place reaches up to seventeen-and-a-half meters. These wells, by the way, are not found in all the huts which according to [148] the Ainu came down from their ancestors. They explain that a winter yurt is vacated at once and for good whenever a member of the family had died in it. If this happens shortly after they have moved into the yurt, perhaps in the first year, no trace of a "well" is found in the spacious cave. In the building of the hut the earth dug out from under the hut itself is entirely sufficient for the production of the roof. The 173 223 same conical openings were also found next to many Tonchi caves, the origin of which, however, is different. Some generations ago the Ainu used these Tonchi huts in order to stage very extraordinary eagle hunts. A bait was placed in the cave, usually the fresh meat of a killed dog, whereupon the whole cave, with the exception of an upper and side opening, was covered with mats so that it closely resembled a tent. The first opening served the eagle who was allured

/326 cont'd/

173 223 by the meat as an entrance into the trap, the second was used as communication with the adjacent tent, where a man lay in hiding. For this man a second hut was dug in a row with the finished one and carefully covered with clay and grass. As is well known, eaglehunting [259] was formerly practiced on Sakhalin with predilection, since the tail-feathers of these birds of prey were very fashionable as ornaments for arrows. In consequence, there were all kinds of tales about eaglehunting and especially about the digging of the earth caves that were used for lying in wait for the prey.

342 [829] The Ainu never built their clay huts in the old hollows of the Tonchi though they did not shun their neighborhood. They considered the Tonchi an alien people whose relics they did not feel bound to [764] honor. Not so the relics of their own tribe. It happened quite often that an Ainu family did not bury the body of a member but left it ly- [764] ing in the yurt which was soon abandoned. But even when the dead was buried in the cemetery, the Ainu shunned the hut in which death had overtaken him and even were afraid of staying in the neighborhood of such a hut. This is the reason why in the neighborhood of Tonchi caves traces of Ainu dwellings are often found.

173 123 My questions about the Tonchi were often parried evasively and at that very reluctantly--or I was just told lies. Thus loquacious old Ainu men, after I had loosened their tongues by some introductory questions, told me that they had heard from their fathers about the Tonchi but had forgotten it again; that the Tonchi had strongly resembled the Ainu but had disappeared somewhere and nobody knew what had become of them; that the Tonchi had used stone tools, had lived in clay huts, but had been afraid of the Ainu and fled somewhere from them; that the Tonchi had liked to peep out of their clay huts and watch the Ainu, but the moment the latter had come closer had gone into their hiding-places where they could not be found at all. Finally two or three Ainu declared briefly that there had never been any Tonchi and that this region had always been inhabited by the Ainu.

In April 1904, that is after a two-year stay among the Ainu, when I was already on friendly terms with them, one of my closer

/326 cont'd/

173 123 [648] friends, a young Ainu from Taraika who owed much to me, told me frankly the true reason for the reticence of the Ainu regarding the Tonchi. These actually had inhabited Sakhalin before the arrival of the Ainu. But the Ainu tried very hard to pass over this fact in silence or even to deny it, because they were afraid that the Russians might rob them of the country and expel them from the island so dear to them once they had learned that they were immigrants and not autochthons. Thus old Ainu stubbornly withheld any information about their predecessors and forbade all clansmen to talk about the Tonchi at all and about the fact that the Ainu tribe did not constitute the original population of the country but had once immigrated from Hokkaido (Yezo) to Sakhalin. This information was confirmed to me by an old Ainu from the village of Nayero who was highly esteemed by all the inhabitants of the eastern shore including the Gilyak and Orok. He confessed to having deliberately misled me earlier. Yet after he became convinced that I was well inclined towards the Ainu he could tell the truth since he knew that I would not abuse it to the detriment of his people.

175 648 I have never received any detailed information when this prohibition A among the Ainu took place, but I can understand it well. I relate it to the times of the advance of the first Russians on the island. Captain Newelski and his comrades took great pains to prove that the Japanese had no rights on the Island of Sakhalin since they had not been there long enough. Much earlier "Russian subjects," i.e. Orok, had shown up there who were mistakenly called Tungus by the new conquerors and were considered emigrants from the environments of Udsk in the Russian Empire. This political slant "which confirms the indisputable right of Russia to dominate the territory of the Island of Sakhalin" and finds its expression in thoroughly childish ethnographic fairy-tales (1) /327/ and which probably also played its part in the

114 [113] 1. See Newelski: Podwigi russkich morskich oficerov (The Feats of Russian Navy Officers). Petersburg, 1878, p. 304 and 305. This book contains

A [For an explanation of this prohibition, see pp. 4-5--Analyst]

/327 cont'd/

175 descriptions of the new rulers and measures to be expected. Small
648 wonder that ca. 800 Ainu left the island together with the Japanese, though they had never enjoyed any special attention or leniency from their yellow neighbors.

114 The same Ainu friend--his name was Sisratoka--who had told
[115] me the secret of the above mentioned ban regarding the Tonchi related to me also how some years ago, in the village of Nayero, the Ainu had given some wrong information to an American traveler (2)

2. I think this refers to B. Laufer who traveled by American order.

who had come to them from the north of Sakhalin. Among other things he wanted to sound them out on the Tonchi, and Sisratoka who served as interpreter was forbidden by the resentful elders to tell the truth.

• 173 I have succeeded in putting down some legends about the Tonchi with their variants. But they all resemble each other strikingly and their content is the following:

At the time of their arrival in Sakhalin the Ainu found there a people that lived in clay huts and knew how to manufacture vessels out of earth. The members of this tribe called themselves Tonchi. They were not very tall nor very small, had black hair and eyes, and generally did not much differ from the Ainu. Their women did not tattoo themselves. They wore short dresses made from animal skins or Manchurian material, their footgear was sewn together from sealskin. They kept neither dogs nor reindeer. For fishing they used angling rods, no nets. They also practised sable-hunting in a way different from the Ainu, since they did not try to kill the animals but caught them in traps. By boats similar to the ones now used by the Gilyak they went into Manchuria and brought wares from there, among other things a delicate white material called para pous. From the Tonchi the Ainu also learned the route into Manchuria. The Tonchi had thievish inclinations and were particularly after Ainu girls, whom they used to kidnap. Sometimes they raped and killed them.

/327 cont'd/

173 Therefore the Ainu often waged war against the Tonchi. Though it happened quite often that Ainu and Tonchi who were neighbors visited each other the latter always had their knives ready on such occasions, whereas the former moved their knives in such a way that they landed straight on their knees. Greatest circumspection was observed on both sides. These constant rivalries and wars with the Ainu finally forced the Tonchi to quit. They departed, as they had come, on boats and left the island for good. The inhabitants of the north maintain that the Tonchi went east and that the point from where they sailed had been the "Cape of Suffering" (Kap des Leidens). And actually abundant traces of their presence can be found around this promontory.

The southern Ainu do not tell of the disappearance of the Tonchi with so much certainty: They had gone into the mountains or landed at the other seashore, nobody knew for sure, but one day they had suddenly disappeared. There had been many of them, many more than there were Ainu on the island today. In Tunajtscha, for example, according to legend there lived formerly 120 Tonchi ("Iwanhoc"), still more in Ajrupo, ca. 160. On account of the large numbers of excavated hollows the Tonchi were also called sirukuru vende kamui, i.e. the people that damages the surface of the earth.

Some Ainu assure me that nowadays the Tonchi came to the Seal Island (Robbeninsel) together with the Americans in order to shoot sea-lions and that some Ainu who visited the island for the same purpose had seen them there. As is well known, the company who has acquired the right of sea-lion hunting on the Robbeninsel and neighboring places employs for this purpose mostly Aleutians who are always brought along by the white hunters. Apparently these Aleutians in their outward appearance recall the description of the Tonchi as preserved in legends.

Twice I was told a legend according to which not even the Tonchi were the first inhabitants of the island. Before them Sakhalin was inhabited by winged people, rach koro ajnu. At that time it was warm on the island, and these strange beings thus I was told by an old man from the village of Nayero, did not build houses nor use clothing. The winter was usually very mild, and though it snowed

/327 cont'd/

[173] occasinally, the inhabitants of the island at that time were not afraid of snow and sought shelter under the trees. They hunted different game by catching it with their wings. No animal could escape them. But they killed so many animals living on land and sea that God decided to punish them for that and took their wings from them. In my opinion this legend /328/ shows pretty clearly that the Ainu formerly lived in tropical countries.

About these winged men there is still another story: A flock of swans flew over their heads to the north and then again back south and called very softly ko-ko-ko! One of the men envied them for it and asked them to take him along. He said that he, too, had wings but was dying from boredom since he always had to sit in one spot. The swans took him up and he flew away with them. Ever since, each spring and fall when the flock of swans passes by, one hears the low voice ko-ko-ko of the flying man.

The Ainu of Sakhalin tell about a people Koropok-un-ku that lived under the broad leaves of the Ruwe kina (Petasites japonica), always six people to a leaf. But all the Ainu asserted unanimously that these small people lived on the island Hokkaido, not on Sakhalin.

From the Ainu living on Hokkaido I heard stories about the Tonchi twice: Once, in the village of Sirawoi not far from Mororan, I asked the inhabitants whether they had pipe-bowls made out of stone such as many I had seen on Sakhalin. But they answered that this was probably Tondzin kamui korope, i.e. a thing used by the Tonchi and [177] was not found on Hokkaido. Also on Sakhalin the Ainu told me that these pipe-bowls made from stone (suma kisiri) had been wrought by the Tonchi and were the only objects originating with the Tonchi that [115] were used by the Ainu. Another time Penri, the oldest man in the settlement of Piratori, who was known to many travelers, told me about the Tonchi. He said that they were a people living beyond the sea in the country of Sianta. The Tonchi had never lived on Hokkaido, but the Ainu brought objects made by them from Sakhalin to Soya. In the seventies Penri went to Sakhalin fishing with an expedition composed of Ainu and Japanese and exchanged his sword for that of one of the oldest tribesmen of the village of Rure. For his Japanese sword that had cost ten yen he received a Tonchi sword which in turn he handed over to another Ainu. Generally there are few Tondzin

/328 cont'd/

173 swords on Hokkaido. From this conversation I concluded that this was a matter of swords imported from Manchuria and that the name Tondzin they were given can be explained by the fact that a long time ago it was the Tonchi who brought Manchurian objects into the country for the first time.

172 In the following places on Sakhalin known to me remains of Tonchi dwellings can be found:

a) On the western shore of Sakhalin.

1. In the southern village of Siranusi (De Preradowicz, Ethnographische Skizze von Sud-Sachalin, p. 13). 2. At a distance of ca. nine kilometers from the village of Siranusi (information obtained from the fishery owner Demby). 3. On the river Tei, above the great fisheries (from there workmen brought me two stone axes). 4. Next to the village Poro-Tomari, somewhat to the north of Mauka (according to Siemionow). 5. In Oko Tomari, not far from Mauka, in a place bordering the seashore a stone chisel was found (according to the same Siemionow). 6. Large quadrangular piles of earth on the banks of the river Mauka, situated a little higher than the fishery plants, (information obtained from the fishery owner Demby). 7. The same type of earthpiles near Kusunay. 8. The valley of the river Dui and the valley of Aleksandrowsk. Both places are mentioned by Polakow in his reports on the research on Sakhalin. 9. The shallow seashore between the villages Wiahtu and Pomr (Ausgrabungen von L. Sternberg, Kalender von Sachalin fur das Jahr 1897, p. 177).

b) In the Bay of Aniwi.

1. At the mouth of the river Susui (Polakow, Berichte uber Forschungen auf Sachalin, p. 19). 2. In the environment of the village and Lake Tschipisani. Laks, the manager of the sawmill there, collected many stone tools and gave them all to the naturalist P.J. Schmidt when he traveled on Sakhalin. 3. Near Korsakowsk (a stone wedge was found there. Katalog des sachalinischen Museums. Kalender von Sachalin fur das Jahr 1897, p. 176).

c) On the eastern shore.

1. and 2. In the environment of the villages Ayrupo and Tunaytschi (according to the Ainu). 3. and 4. Near the villages

to the Saru, went for bear hunts beyond the upper reaches of their river into those of the adjacent Nikap river. For the area on the Nukapira side that stretched between the Puirapet and Aipet glens, both tributary to the upper Nikap, was Nukapira terriotory, whereas the area lying opposite was Nikap territory and no Nukapira Ainu could cross the river Nikap without permission. This area on the upper Nikap which formed an extension of Nukapira territory apparently coincides with what has already been reported by IZUMI as a part of Saru iworu (IZUMI, 1951, p. 43). He ascribes the origin to a strife in which the area was taken by the people of Saru as prize from those of a neighbouring river area. As far as the author has examined, no information is available from any river valley to confirm such an origin.

These briefly are the evidences from which it might very roughly be concluded that there is no doubt about the Ainu conceptions of territory resting upon their cosmological theory on the relations between the river and the mountain and the actual demarcation being conditioned by that theory. The details will be given in Charpter VI.

(46) It may be assumed from what Hachiro Kurokawa of Nukipet, an old Ainu settlement on the Nukapira, tributary to the river Saru, a son of a brother of the Nukipet headman, heard from people of the elder generation who knew traditional life, that the natives living on the Nukapira river course—residents of Nukipet (a local group), Nioi and Shikerepe (both probably local groups) settlements—had been from old times a group by themselves distinct from any others living along the main Saru, or a distinct 'river group' as termed by the writer. By native distinction the river Nukapira, like the river Saru, formed a distinct *pet*, main stream or river, pointing to its own head mountain, Poroshiri. The two rivers were accompanied each by a river-spirit, *petorun kamui* of its own. The people of Saru observed their own ritual for the Saru river-spirit, *petorun kamuinomi;* those of Nukapira their own. On some necessary occasions the inhabitants of Nukapira conducted a group activity independent of the Saru people. "Members of the same river group could freely go gathering anywhere within their own river area, as did the Nukapira people. But the people of Nukapira were not to go fishing without permission in the Saru river area. In any area other than their own they could never act freely". This information, of which little more particulars are to be known, carries an impression that the people of Nukapira might have formed a different river group from those of Saru. IZUMI's report on the Saru Ainu as a territorial group gives no mention about these point[1] but treats the natives of the Nukapira and the main Saru as belonging to the same river group. Apart from this, there is no available report relating to the matter.

1, [Errata: the word "point" should read "points". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

G 323 172

/451 cont./

4. (cont.)
bands either straight, wavy, and zigzag in form or in a kind of braided work.

essentially wholly similar to pieces of this type found in other regions under similar conditions, here, too, belonged to an early period so far back that it cannot be put into any ethnological relationship with the present. Nevertheless I must add here that the articles found along the Patchă River (see /452/ note 3 on p. 692) were shown to many Gilyak (1) to find out from them

1. As is expressly pointed out in the above-mentioned periodical (Vostochnoe Pomor'e) and elsewhere.

whether they still had similar tools, or any traditions referring to them -- they were completely unfamiliar to them, however. Lopatin questioned the Ainu and Orok in Taraika about the stone tools and potsherds found there. The latter, to be sure, declared that during the wars the Ainu had gone into hiding in the earth huts that were formerly on the sites of the present pits, but the Ainu themselves were totally unfamiliar with the stone tools. On the other hand, they told him of a legend which ascribes those objects to a people called Toissi who formerly inhabited these regions but later moved to the north. The remains of the earth huts found near Mogunkotan on the Gulf of Patience, near Cape Ssiraroro, and at other places on Sakhalin are also ascribed to them. Lopatin found this legend throughout part of southern Sakhalin through which he traveled (2).

A 172 173 323 [648]

2. Since the alleged name of the people from whom, according to the legend, the stone tools and old potsherds are supposed to come actually only means pottery, as can be seen from the above-mentioned statement by Mamia Rinsô concerning the pottery of ("tojes'ju," i. e., earthen pans)

A [192] [114]

A
192
193
323
192
114

/452 cont./

2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

G
262
191

After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

A
133
36
[101]
[262]

The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists